1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

number and the largest variety of items. Also, Miller or the members of his household own some of the most valuable imported items obtained in trade. This condition does to a certain extent reflect Miller's social prominence in the settlement; it may be regarded as a result of his social position, but not as a cause. Those outsiders who have dealings with the settlement (such as traders at Towakaima, the prospector Bell, myself) deal with Miller as the recognized head of the settlement, as the man with greatest influence; and he is therefore enabled to acquire more trade goods than other men. For instance, I required a crew of four men to go down river to Aranka, where I had left my supplies, and return to Sawari carrying a portion of the supplies on their backs. The round-trip journey was a matter of perhaps one hundred miles or about ten days. It was an arduous job, but one for which each of the men would be well paid. Negotiations were started with several men individually, but their enthusiasm was only mildly aroused, even by the prospect of acquiring fine trade goods for themselves and their families. Finally the matter was broached to Miller, who promptly persuaded four young men to undertake the journey as a favor to themselves, to him, and to me. A deal was made between Miller and the men whereby Miller obtained a certain part of the trade goods which each man received as pay, in return for his services in arranging the employment for them. Thus Miller, without making the trip himself, received more goods than any one of the men. But there is no formalization in an arrangement of this kind, which was made, in this case, simply as a personal agreement between Miller and the other men. His social prestige lent a persuasiveness to his words, but, although the consummation of a successful deal of this kind doubtless added something in turn to Miller's personal prestige, there is nothing in his office of headman which enables him to coerce the other members of the settlement. This was illustrated later, when the negro prospector, Bell, requested several laborers of Miller. Although Miller again tried to persuade members of the settlement to take the work, he was in this instance unsuccessful because the men involved considered Bell's trade goods too poor to make the job worth their while.

A mere survey of material possessions among the Caribs indicates a small degree of social importance because in this culture

175 damaged. Twice the shaft was repaired. However, after considerable
*177 financial losses over a period of fifteen months, the third inundation of the shaft forced Baird to close the operations late in 1969. Government attempts were made to sustain In Time mine. These did not succeed. Government influence in the Upper Barama River area was rechanneled through a structural reorganization which will be discussed later.

In any event, both of these companies had a long term local
[464] impact. Although incorporating negligible bush materials and Amerindian labor, the brief existence of the Axel Johnson Company
[439] increased the accessibility of the area. Wesley A. Baird's activities contributed significantly to local participation in material exchanges along regional communication and transportation networks.

*177 The building of the air pool already has been mentioned. Previous
175 to its existence, cargo was shipped either up the Barima River or up
653 the Barama River during short periods of high water. Men then carried the supplies overland to the mining camps. The Axel Johnson Company initiated a survey for an air strip. However, this project ceased when Old World was closed. Impressed by Baird's continuing gold activities, the Government carried on the surveying and finally located high ground for an air strip. In 1953, the Baramita Air Strip was constructed. The air pool served to bring in equipment which was assembled in the bush. At the same time, Wapishana Amerindians were brought in to serve as laborers. The completed air
*177 strip of approximately 300 feet cost about $80,000. For easy access
175 between the air strip and In Time, Baird undertook the building of a

*177 independent of regular contact with regional transportation and
175 communication.
439

Nevertheless, the relationships Baird established during this period are critical to our analysis. Over the years, he clearly became the middleman through whom a local economy interfingered with
175 the regional economy. He supplied limited employment opportunities
*177 and market outlets. Thus, a number of Amerindians left aside sub-
464 sistence farming and depended on the wage work he provided. Others sought occasional employment, and still others supplied provisions for those engaged in mining activities. All of this had an important impact on the Amerindian population.

*199 In effect, Baird became a patron of Amerindian clients. As such,
175 he was subsequently the person through whom government services were
466 introduced and government support was elicited. During the later
659 years of Baird's gold mining activities, government health care was first introduced. [illegible] support elicited was a call for Amerindian votes. Eventually, when Baird gave up mining, he assumed an official role as government employee. His position as the broker controlling access to the Amerindians in the Upper Barama was clearly underscored by the missionary attempt to establish a similar relationship.

Missionaries

175 The Pilgrim Holiness Church Corporation is a fundamentalist
*177 organization based in the midwestern United States. They have been
199 active in Guyana at least since the early 1920's. Their early activities were on the coast and later expanded into the interior.

175 in the headwaters of the Barima River. He was able to convince
*177 several men from Cedar, one of the settlements, to cut a communal
361 farm at Black Water Creek, about two miles north of the air strip.
622 For a time, twenty-four people from Cedar were living there. Later, they went back to Cedar, only sporadically returning to camp out for a few days or so to make use of the facilities at the Air Strip. It is clear that this smaller Carib population from the headwaters of the Barima River remains peripheral in an analysis of cultural change among the Upper Barama River Caribs.

*177 Figure 9 summarizes the settlement pattern in the Upper Barama
175 area in 1969. The greatest nucleation of population occurred in
361 zone a. There, 171 people were directly supported by mining activi-
464 ties at In Time. In zone b, the larger but more dispersed population of 190 was more indirectly involved in the mining economy. Lastly, the remaining population of 143 was dispersed in five more independent settlements in the rain forest. Settlements are varied in purpose. However, the Upper Barama River Caribs as yet do not have two or more house sites where they engage in different activities.
[659] This occurs with the introduction of government programs and services at Baramita Air Strip.

*177 During 1970-71, the population located in the Upper Barama River
361 area was centralized in varying degrees around Baramita Air Strip
162 (see Figure 10). In the summer of 1971, there were 333 residents at the Air Strip. Of this number, 232 are permanent residents. The remainder are mobile, part-time residents who also maintain farms in the more remote settlements. Also in the spring of 1971, Aranka had

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 50]

*177 a population of 114 and Baramita sixty-nine. These two settlements
361 also have mobile residents who have access to farms in still more
162 remote areas. The latter include thirty-five inhabitants.[10] In
[16] total, there were 551 Carib people in the Upper Barama River area in 1971.

*177 Increasingly, the practice of abandoning a house site in the case
768 of a death is being neglected. A cemetery some distance away is
[764] being used at the Air Strip. Several older graves around house sites are disregarded. Apparently, priorities of location override this tradition.

*177 Figure 11 shows the current settlement pattern. Both zone a and
361 b have permanent residents. Zone c residents also make use of farms in either zone a or b. There is little direct movement between zone a and b. The partial centralization of population initiated by the local mining economy has been completed. Within the existing nucleation, the center has been changed from the mine to the air strip. The remaining population has been drawn into this locus. In contrast to the limited opportunities available at the mine, some of the
[657] opportunities at the Air Strip are public. That is, they are available to all Caribs. These new resources are the clinic, the school,
[464] and agricultural assistance. However, very few employment opportuni-
[241] ties are available at Baramita Air Strip. Bush farms must be maintained and returned to in the case of the permanent workers who had left aside subsistence in the rain forest.

Consequently, a pattern of dual residence appears to be emerging in response to resource development. The local Carib population has

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 52]

241 agreements are made concerning the direction particular men will move
311 in cutting down bush for new fields. Land which would traditionally
*177 be regarded as unsuitable for farming is being used. Increasing land areas are being exposed and, thus, the potential for extensive land deterioration exists. The ultimate impact of these activities by 551 people within fifty square miles of bush cannot be completely related in that the data available disclose the effect of only the first year of this more centralized settlement pattern.

361 In conclusion, among the Upper Barama River Carib population, the
*177 capacity for transience has been differently adapted to the succession of resource situations. The first settlement pattern was an adaptation in a position of relative isolation in the rain forest. In response to the dispersed nature of local subsistence resources, the Carib population was dispersed in settlements along the river system. These settlements fluctuated in population size, and there is evidence [628] to suggest that personnel exchanges were more frequent within two groups of people, one located in the upper section and the other in the lower section of the Upper Barama River corridor. In any event, this was changed with regional contacts and exchange opportunities. A nucleation of the local population has emerged in response to the introduction of centers of external resources, the mine and the air [464] strip. At the mine, employment was available to only a portion of the Carib population. The remainder of the population maintained a subsistence in the bush, although incorporating occasional market opportunities at the mine. The mobility of the unemployed population in the satellite settlements of Aranka and Baramita, and perhaps the

175 *177 161 [464] Clearly by the 1940's, exchange and employment opportunities play an important role in respect to this Carib population's adaptation. Men were being regularly engaged in mining activities and increasing numbers of them were permanent workers for Baird. Despite Peberty's comments, there is evidence that the reproductive pattern was greatly changed.

175 *177 162 In 1960 government census provides the first evidence of this increase in population size. Unfortunately in this report, the inhabitants between Kokerite and Towakaima were counted with the Upper Barama River Caribs. In this larger group, there were 565 people, including 285 males and 280 females. As a partial indication of what portion of these were in the Upper Barama River above Towakaima, 142 adults from this area were registered to vote in 1961. Table 6 presents the age structure and sex composition of the larger [163] Carib group. Also, for the year preceding the census, there were 13 births all occurring to women under 45. Expressed as a crude birth rate, this is 23.5 births per thousand total population.

175 659 In the investigation of the change in population size, it must be pointed out that early health care was haphazard at best. Systematic health care was not available until very recently. It should be noted that 1960 was the first year the Malaria Eradication Programme was extended into the Upper Barama area. At that time, 271 smears were 175 659 taken and 23 were positive for malaria. This is an incidence of 164 malaria for 8.6 percent of the population tested. The Malaria Eradication Programme resumed in the Upper Barama area in the summer of 1966. At that time, 314 people were tested. Of this number,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 60]

and 171 children in the age category of four years and under. Of course, this discounts incidences of mortality as well as the passage in and out of these age categories with time. More specifically, from July 1970 through June 1971, twenty-five children were born to the segment of the Carib population at Baramita Air Strip. Expressed as a crude birth rate, this is eighty-three births per 100 population. Expressed as a general rate of birth,[14] in this case the ratio of births to women between ages twenty and forty-four, this is 490.3 births per 1000 women. At this rate of growth, coupled with the current negligible rate of mortality, this population will double in size about every ten years or until limiting factors intervene.

The reproductive histories of the women at Baramita Air Strip allow a closer focus on this new reproductive pattern. Among this segment of the population, sixty-three women have borne children.[15] The reproductive histories of fifty-nine of these women were collected and are presented in Table 10. The age categories selected are under twenty-five, twenty-five to thirty-nine, forty to fifty-four, and fifty-five and over. Organized in this manner, it is clear that the reproductive careers that occurred after 1940 are quite different from reproductive careers that did not. The women in the younger age category, forty to fifty-four, show clear evidence of the new reproductive pattern of twenty to thirty month intervals between births. The oldest woman in this group is estimated to be fifty-one. Accordingly, all of these women began reproducing after the availability of employment and market opportunities with the mining companies.

*177 175 437 439 food. Such exchanges were realized with the early prospectors. Provisions, especially cassava and meat, would be traded for salt, tools, tobacco, glass beads, and also money. Occasionally, parrots, monkeys, waracabras, and other pets were traded to these porknockers.

[609] Exchanges would occur more or less by chance. A porknocker might wander into a settlement and wait until the bashful residents had recovered themselves sufficiently to come out of hiding and deal with him. There was little bargaining. Rather, each party approached the

*177 175 423 exchange as a nonrecurring opportunity. When prospecting became more familiar among the Caribs, private ownership was recognized in gold creeks (Gillin 1934:335). The individual who discovered a

[432] specific creek was considered to be the owner. He could sell it, usually to a porknocker who came.

*177 175 437 464 439 Eventually, Carib men exchanged short term periods of labor for trade goods. Often this work was done for a specific object. Guns which could be purchased over the counter in Georgetown were especially desired. An Amerindian would often be asked to cut down a large field and build a house for such a payment. However, as Gillin reports (1936:131), Caribs were not always so easily induced to work. The men of Sawari refused employment by a prospector as they felt his trade goods were too meager. The Carib men had to desire the goods to be traded and also be assured of actually being paid and not expoited. It was some time before individual proknockers with their recurrent trips to the Upper Barama River area were able to count on help from specific Caribs. Even longer periods of trust were necessary before these Caribs agreed to work in return for specific trade goods

the porknocker would bring on his next trip from Georgetown. However, relations with porknockers remained as transient as the porknocking operations themselves.

In short, these early opportunities were of a windfall nature. Neither porknocker nor Carib was economically bound to the other. Thus, these were associational relationships. With the establishment of trust, both the porknocker and Carib cooperated for mutual benefit. If a porknocker abused an Amerindian, he and often others would no longer work for this person. The reputations of Amerindians were also important. These early, individualized exchanges served to bring in trade goods which were incorporated into the existing subsistence pattern of the population. However, it was not until the presence of the mining companies that market opportunities were localized and of a sufficiently permanent nature to affect the local Carib subsistence routine.

Markets Introduced by the Gold Companies

Population data suggest that there are significant changes in the nature of reproduction among the Carib population in the time periods before and after 1940, when mining companies were first established in the Upper Barama River area. A more precise investigation of the relationship of the local population to new market opportunities introduced by the gold mining companies is in order. It is not assumed that there is a definable equation between the quantity of trade goods reaching this population and an increased rate of birth. The process of adaptation to these new markets does not appear to be

2: Adams E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1979 SR9 Carib SR9
(1932-1971) Barama River

*177 175 163 511 that simple. Rather, guns and iron tools substituted for tools fashioned from bush materials tended to increase the efficiency of the exploitation of the rain forest. In addition, the more permanent availability of clothing, medical care, and food supplies tended to override any cyclical changes in local subsistence resources which would affect population size. Moreover, at no time were detailed records kept of the quantity of trade goods which reached this population as a consequence of the activities of gold mining companies, and at the onset of field work, these patterns of exchange no longer existed. Nevertheless, these regional networks of exchange and the involvement of the Carib population can be reconstructed.

*177 175 464 All the mining companies introduced some exchange opportunities. Only Baird's company, which persisted for over thirty years, significantly involved the local population. Only Carib men were employed as the work included carrying loads, hunting, cutting fields, and mining activities. Also, a majority of the adult men in the Carib population was never employed at one time. Yet, the employment opportunities resulted in channels for the dispersion of exchanges to a wider section of the population.

During the initial establishment of the companies, the Caribs did not comprise a reliable labor force. Laborers were brought in from Georgetown. While the Axel Johnson Company was still in operation, Baird and his partner had some problem with the desertion of coastal laborers. As a big company, Axel Johnson paid higher wages. Of course, the competition ceased when the Axel Johnson Company was closed. There occurred other problems in relation to the number of

*197. 195 • 464

laborers from the coast. A 1953 list of Baird's workers at Millionaire includes a mechanic, engineer, manager, foreman, and twenty-six laborers from the coast. Coastal workers still predominanted a year later when they held a strike for higher wages. They were granted their request. A few years later, other coastal workers held a second strike. By this time, a number of Carib men were in steady employment. With this reserve of local laborers, the coastal men were sent away. Manganese operations were opening up at Matthew's Ridge and these coastal men went there.

This reliance on Carib manpower was accomplished gradually. Many Carib men were anxious about working in the mine shaft. However, in time, Caribs gained confidence and skills and eventually totally replaced miners from the coast. Permanent employment was available for a core of workers. Jobs were available to others with changes in production or with the undertaking of special projects such as the road built between the air strip and In Time in 1964. At the height of his activities in the middle 1960's, Baird employed about fifty Carib men. At the time, this was a little less than fifty percent of the adult male Carib population. Later, Baird cut to thirty-two workers before finally phasing out his mining enterprise. In contrast to previous employment opportunities which briefly separated a man from his subsistence schedule, these mining opportunities with Baird resulted in a very different routine among the Carib men.

[241] [466] Specifically, Amerindians at the mine eventually left aside subsistence farming. Baird imposed a work schedule on a weekly calendar. The more permanent day work was from 6:30 to 11:00 in the morning and

from 12:30 to 4:00 in the afternoon, Monday through Saturday. Over time, salaries varied. During the last years of the company, men were usually paid about $4 a day. At this time, men also earned the equivalent of $4 a day for job work for which the terms were more flexible. Considerable inputs of human labor were included in all aspects of mining activities; cutting loggings, feeding a ball mill, turning a winch, shoving a wheelbarrow and so forth. When operations were of such a nature that the shaft had to be continually pumped of water, shifts worked around the clock. During these times, if a worker failed to come, Baird would take his place. As a standard procedure, Baird would suspend a worker for two weeks if he failed to turn out for a scheduled work period. In the Upper Barama River area, remote from transportation and communication networks, the need for a reliable labor force was thus stepped up with an increased industrialization of the mining enterprise.

Baird had a need for a limited number of workers, but increasingly, he needed workers who were experienced, dependable, and could be called out for any emergency or change in work schedule. On the other hand, permanent workers, without any other immediate subsistence resources on which to rely, sought assurance of job security. Throughout the existence of the mining enterprise, there were fewer jobs available than men wishing to be employed.[1] A situation was promoted in which Baird and the Carib workers made mutual demands, characteristic of the generalized but asymmetrical economic reciprocity conveyed in the personal relationships between a patron and his clients.

candidates who were unemployed at the time, one man was selected by the largest number of votes to serve as Captain for a four-year term. Other candidates for the Captaincy became Councillors. Of these offices, only the Captaincy is a salaried position. It receives $150 a month.[4] The duties of these offices, which have been more clearly defined with the government settlement project at Baramita Air Strip, have provided a basis for the redistribution of the Captain's salary to a wider section of the population. However, the office of Captain among the Upper Barama River Caribs does not differentiate the officeholder in any sustained fashion from the rest of the population. Similar to other forms of local employment in the Upper Barama River area, the Captaincy is not a vehicle to gain a control in regional markets or to accumulate deployable forms of capital.

Previous to the establishment of the mining companies, the dispersed Carib settlements tended to be closed with regard to obtaining and sharing local subsistence resources. This pattern was apparently little disturbed by the first trade goods brought by the mobile porknockers. However, the money economy and the centralized channels of regional exchange introduced by the mining companies markedly altered Carib subsistence. External resources came to be critical to the subsistence patterns of the expanding local population, and settlements became more centralized around their source. In 1969, Baird's mining activities were directly supporting 171 individuals or 33.9 percent of the total Carib population at the time. Located nearby at Baramita, Aranka, and the Air Strip, another 190 individuals

*177 175 361 438 [484] or 37.7 percent of the total population frequently sold provisions at the trade store. This segment of the population also participated in the ancillary regional exchange networks provided by the missionaries and the Amerindian Captain. The remaining 28.4 percent of the population, the 143 individuals in the more remote settlements, made more infrequent trips to the trade store at In Time. Either through informal trade among Caribs themselves or the centralized channels created by the trade store, mining activities involved the entire local population in a common network of regional exchanges. In turn, this network was changed by the abandonment of In Time.

Regional Exchanges Centralized at Baramita Air Strip

*177 175 • 464 511 The cessation of mining activities late in 1969 again altered the subsistence patterns of the local Carib population. That segment of the population dependent on employment at the mine and maintaining no farms was faced with a subsistence crisis. The opportunities for the remainder of the population to sell provisions was greatly reduced.

*177 175 464 657 During the spring and summer of 1970, the Government began introducing programs and services to sustain this population. The new governmental offices have already been detailed (see Figure 3). The resources conveyed to the population through these new channels remain to be discussed. As data are available only for the first year of these new programs at Baramita Air Strip, this must remain a preliminary report.

*177 182 [463] The first year at the Air Strip was one of general parsimony. Job specialization among the Caribs was almost eliminated and everyone returned to rain forest subsistence.

000 returned to rain forest subsistence. There was no household without
*177 a large farm, but it was some time before new farms became productive.
241 In addition, all of the Carib men were anxious to gain some money
*177 income to buy commercial items they had come to consider a need.
• 464 However, there were few employment opportunities and the demand for
[182] local products was very limited. Although maintaining a subsistence
[361] relationship to the rain forest, the population nucleated around the air strip as much as possible to make use of the few remaining resource opportunities, including health care, food programs at the school, and whatever was available by way of casual wage work.

More men sought work than that available. Government station hands were hired. Work involved carpentry, cutting grass, filling water tanks during the dry seasons and other tasks. For a time, four men had these jobs. By spring 1971, only one man was left in this employment. Also, occasionally men were hired on project work, including stumping out areas, lopping down secondary bush at the extreme ends of the air strip, and building a clinic under one of the govern-
[465] ment residence houses. The pay for this work was about $4 a day, and
[466] the work schedule was from 6:30 A.M. to 2:30 P.M., allowing the men time to farm or hunt during daylight hours.

Baird's private activities also entailed some employment opportunities. He was considering a partnership which would take him to the Potaro River for gold mining. He made a three week prospecting trip there in November 1970 and took along six of his former workers.

Other opportunities for work at the Air Strip involved carrying loads for the Medical Ranger and the Agricultural Field Assistant.

*1177 Periodically, they made field trips to the more remote settlements,
• 464 including those in the headwaters of the Barima River. Also, more extensive employment was available with the Malaria Eradication Officer. He visits the area about every six months and employs about
[465] ten men for periods up to six weeks. The pay for carrying loads for the Agricultural Field Assistant was about $4 a day. Those men employed by the officers of the Ministry of Health received about $6 a day.

In short, jobs were temporary and limited, similar to the early employment with transient porknockers. In contrast to the casual participation in the early opportunities, the limited jobs available at Baramita Air Strip constituted an unemployment problem. The Upper Barama River Caribs before and after thirty years of mining activities were operating on a very different economic basis. The commercial goods and a steady source of provisions provided by employment had come to be a desirable alternative to maintaining a farm in the bush. Nevertheless, due to the impermanence of employment, a Carib who becomes separated from a subsistence relationship to the rain forest is in a precarious position, as witnessed by the subsistence crisis experienced by the former miners and their families when In Time mine was closed. The remaining regional markets available at Baramita Air Strip were specifically intended to augment an agrarian subsistence among the Upper Barama River Caribs.

*1170 A large number of men were involved in subsidized agricultural
657 development. In the summer of 1970, the first field was cut. About
241 four acres of black-eyed peas were planted. From the harvest, 350
439
654

*177 657 226 439 the small aircraft. As is common in the handling and transportation of tropical fish, many would die. Up to as many as ten percent of the fish would be lost in transit to Georgetown, and the proprietor cut the price to 4 1/2¢ per live fish he received. After a few thousand catfish had been sent to Georgetown, tropical fish operations were suspended.

*177 438 436 With this proliferation of small market opportunities, a money economy continued to develop in the Upper Barama River area after the closing of the mine. A government trade store is now located at *177 657 443 438 439 Baramita Air Strip and operated by the Project Officer. During 1970-71, the minimal stock of tinned sardines, salt fish, flour, rice, sugar, cigarettes, matches, ammunition, cutlasses and knives, cloth lengths, pants and shirts, school exercise books and pencils was sometimes depleted by delay in the shipment of supplies from George-*177 436 town. More often, Caribs did not have the cash to make purchases. Money tended to be a more specialized means of exchange. Only it could [182] be used to purchase commercial goods. As a consequence of the limited circulation of money among this population, there occurred a renewed *177 438 reliance on bush resources for food and tools. Secondary networks for the exchange of local provision foods greatly disappeared. A [464] marked separation of those employed and unemployed during the mining *177 438 439 economy was lost. In contrast, a diversity of limited opportunities to directly participate in regional exchanges was available more generally to the population at Baramita Air Strip. In this manner, [657] the regional economy among the Upper Barama River Caribs has been supported by the national government since the closing of the mine.

indication that the natural environment has been permanently degraded in any manner. However, some Caribs have neglected bush farms; specifically, those who regularly worked as miners at In Time. With the rupture of their source of provisions, the former miners and their families were faced with a subsistence crisis when In Time was closed. As an emergency measure, government subventions were introduced to sustain these people while they re-established bush farms. This was not a simple matter of waiting for the first crop. Although the manioc cultivated by the Upper Barama River Caribs is usually mature in nine months, it was commonly harvested as early as four months by the residents of Baramita Air Strip during 1970-71. Immature manioc obviously yields less calories than the mature crop, and a deficit in future crops was established. Also, a closer scouring of the natural environment for all sources of food, however minute, and, inevitably, hunger ensued among the Carib population at Baramita Air Strip.

In their remote rain forest environment, there have been no opportunities among the local Carib population to acquire resource banks which might include livestock, real estate, local enterprises such as shops or other mechanisms to divert, store, or otherwise manipulate the resources conducted through regional networks. Even agricultural fields, a primary local resource, are dependent on the labor extended to develop them and are eventually reclaimed by the forest. This underscores the lack of any other basis to hedge against the insecurity of external resources except to continually spend the labor to maintain farms in the bush. In the same manner, there is

175 A headman
622 was recognized in each settlement (John Miller in Sawari), but his authority rested on his influence. Aspects of personality, the number of relatives, as well as physical strength were factors in the choice of headman. Although the duties of headman lacked definition, for the most part they involved coalescing group
175 opinion and action. All of this was done informally. Group action
629 would be taken against individuals who threatened the pattern of sharing resources and rendering assistance within the settlement. Ostracism, exile, or, more rarely, violence would be employed (Gillin 1934:337).

175 At this time, the Upper Barama River Caribs constituted an indig-
[648] enous population within a British colony. In this colonial environ-
[701] ment, there was no organization among these Caribs for war or defense
[622] which would compel leadership (Gillin 1934:344). Dispersed in the
175 rain forest, remote from the center of European power, there was no
628 other basis for unity among this population. Before extensive regional trade and a money economy were introduced by the mining companies, these dispersed settlements tended to be closed with regard to patterns of obtaining and sharing subsistence resources. Exchanges
*177 among settlements involved shifts of personnel. Increasingly, the
621 boundary of the resource sharing social unit has become constricted within the larger, more stabilized settlements around centralized networks of regional exchange.

Organization for Gold Mining

*179 In addition to centralizing settlements, employment and other
592 market opportunities provided by gold mining activities from 1940 to
464

*177 592 464 1969 have had consequences in the interrelationships among Carib households. Cooperation within households developed as men were first employed by porknockers. A young boy would accompany his father on such employment and to some extent share the uncertainty of his father's employment. Usually the father collected and managed the wages earned by his young son. Also, young unmarried brothers would work together during these early opportunities. However, this is still a recruiting of work partners from the existing household unit.

*177 593 464 606 As job opportunities became more substantial, the composition of the household changed. The cooperation between father and son was maintained as was that between father and son-in-law. This partnership persisted beyond the son's or son-in-law's youth to his position as a married adult, himself a father of children. Employment opportunities held these trans-generational pairs together. The instrumental nature of friendship among brothers, real and classificatory, diminished as household members became allied by employment. The general emphasis on cooperating partners of the same age shifted to a trans-generational recruitment pattern. In contrast to extra-household, associational work relationships, the new work opportunities promoted father-son and father-son-in-law cooperative bonds. As males secured employment, they tended to disassociate from the pattern of sharing resources with a group of cognatic kinsmen. Thus, employment opportunities of any duration acted to stabilize partnerships within a household, and as a consequence, the presence of a son-in-law was no longer indicative of a transitional phase and a

[602] *177 476 464 *177 464 592

*177 • 464 592 structurally nascent family. Rather, the family became extended and the son-in-law or son and their wives and children remained as part of the family group.

*177 464 592 621 The residence pattern during the period of Amerindian employment by Baird reflects these strategies. During November 1969, just before In Time was abandoned, a survey of the residents in the area is available. In the close vicinity of the mine there were eight clearings. Three more were located nearby at Big Creek. The adult male residents and their kinship and work relationships are presented in Table 12. The kinship affiliations of all of these men are detailed in Figure 12.

In 1969, the residents of one clearing had recently moved to the Air Strip. This was the household of Baird's father-in-law. It was composed of an older man, sixty-five, and his son-in-law, thirty, and his son, twenty-five, along with their wives and children. These men had been steadily employed in Baird's mining activities.

Due to the difficulties which later closed the mine, temporary work had not been available for some time. Thus, the men remaining in residence had been steady workers for Baird. There is one exception. This is the largest clearing at Big Creek (cluster 11 in Figure 12), which is composed of a man, his two sons-in-law, and his son. Of this group, some were steady workers. Others were sporadic workers who maintained a subsistence cultivation in the bush. At this point in time, the larger number of men in one clearing also adds to an ambiguity with regard to identifying the household boundary and is indicative of transient aspects of organization common with fluctuating resources.

TABLE 12

RESIDENCE AND KINSHIP AND WORK RELATIONSHIPS AMONG MINERS, 1969

Residential Group	Estimated Ages of Men	Relationships	Years of Employment with Baird
(In Time)			
1.	55	father	over 15
	25	son	over 6
2.	75	father	previously ca. 10
	40	son	ca. 4
3.	65	man	never employed
	35	son-in-law	ca. 16
4.	50	father	ca. 15
	30	son	ca. 2
	25	son	ca. 6
5.	60	father	ca. 12
	30	son	ca. 10
	20	son-in-law	unemployed
6.	50	father	ca. 15
	30	son	ca. 10
	30	son-in-law	ca. 10
7.	30	man	ca. 8
	20	son-in-law	unemployed
8.	35	man	ca. 12
	25	brother-in-law	ca. 6
(Big Creek)			
9.	45	man	ca. 16
	20	son-in-law	unemployed
10.	25	Baird's son	steadily employed
11.	50	father	previously ca. 1
	30	son-in-law	ca. 10
	25	son-in-law	ca. 2
	20	son	previously ca. 1

2: Adams E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1973 SR9 Carib SR9
(1932-1971) Barama River

Among the other men in these households of miners, those not employed are either old enough to be retired from this work or too young to have begun an employment career. Thus, a household included up to three adult men in different stages of involvement with employment opportunities. The trans-generational recruitment of work partners is clear. As a pattern, the older men who had been employed for a substantial number of years attracted to their households sons and sons-in-law. The older men would seek employment on their behalf. An exception to father-son and father-son-in-law recruitment pattern is the man with a work partnership with his wife's younger brother (cluster 8 in Figure 12). In this case the age [redacted]e is still apparent. As a pattern, the younger partner was brought into an employment opportunity at an age when he was a dependent in an established miner's household. The younger man became another link in the client relationship the older man had established with Baird. Any further elaboration with regard to the pattern of life cycles of men or households under the circumstances of employment in mining was terminated with the cessation of In Time mine in 1969.

In any case, this household organization was not dictated by the nature of the work, but rather by the manner of securing and maintaining the work.[3] As is abundantly apparent from Figure 12, Baird's workers were close kinsmen. Nevertheless, with the limited number of jobs available, there was no opportunity for these men to use kinship ties to form any independent corporate organization. Rather, employment opportunities in the mining tended to eliminate economic cooperation between households by introducing an external broker between them.

broker between them. At times, rivalry was evident when a worker had been suspended for two weeks, as was the standard practice for failure to turn out for a scheduled work period. The suspended man would have his wife make a batch of cassiri, and he would hold a spree for other miners who often suspected the plot but could not resist the invitation. In turn, the guests would be too inebriated to work, and the first miner would be immediately reinstated as constant workers were needed to maintain the mining enterprise.

From the pattern of social organization attending subsistence farming in the rain forest, father and son and father and son-in-law ties have been solidified by strategies to secure employment. In this case, previous nuclear families with ties of assistance among a wider kin group, effective organization for exploiting the bush, were changed by the circumstances of the availability of employment. However, the record of impermanence regarding work opportunities and other markets has contributed to a general lack of explicitness regarding work partnerships and residential practices among the Upper Barama River Carib population during the last forty years. The organization of the population with no access to steady mining employment also has been affected by the increased availability of regional exchange opportunities. This is best detailed in the discussion of the situation during 1970-71.

Resettlement around Baramita Air Strip

The current residence situation among the Upper Barama River Carib population has resulted from the pattern described by Gillin,

the retention of father and son and son-in-law bonds among workers, as well as by the centralization around the air strip. Temporary cooperation to aid relatives in settling in a new location is also a factor in the current residence situation. At this time little analysis can be made of the life cycles of family groups or of individuals. Data are available only on the first year of the resettlement around the air strip, a time of considerable change in the extent and nature of the external resources available in the Upper Barama River area. Family organization is responding to these new circumstances.

The population in the satellite settlements, Baramita and Aranka, has had a different experience with the regional economy. Among these segments of the population, men have had little or no employment. The headman of Aranka worked about five separate one-year periods in his youth with porknockers. Another man from Aranka worked for two years at In Time while living with his father. Now he is one of the headman's sons-in-law. Also, men from Aranka have been employed from time to time by the Malaria Eradication Officer. For the most part, the populations in these settlements have maintained a subsistence adaptation to the rain forest. Their livelihoods have been supplemented by selling small amounts of local provisions for commercial items at the trade store.

The residence patterns in these satellite settlements are somewhat different and they also differ from that characteristic of the households at the Air Strip. At Baramita in 1971, there were five clearings. One was inhabited by a man and wife and their children. Two others were nuclear families recently extended by the addition of

*177 476 the dependent partners are identifiable. This contrasts to the associational nature of the previous pattern of cooperation among the Carib men.

*177 175 462 The increased isolation of the family group resident in a clearing has affected the assignment of tasks according to sex. Gillin reports a discrete separation of tasks (1936:3,46,51,71). Men would hunt and clear fields, construct houses, canoes and cassiri kanus, and do all basketry and plaiting. Women would harvest cultigens, gather edibles from the forest, prepare all food, sew, tend children, and exclusively assist in childbirth while the men were not allowed in the clearing. Men and women would cooperate to plant fields and poison streams for fish. During 1970-71, men were observed in their own households engaged in all of those tasks which previously were allocated to women. For the most part, women's tasks are those which must be done on a daily basis. Men assisted with the activity when the females in the household were otherwise indisposed and there was [844] no wider circle of females to call upon. Men now commonly deliver their wife's children. Women, on the other hand, were not observed taking part in any of the men's activities.

*177 437 [436] Exchanges between people from households in different clearings are now conveyed in terms of immediate exchange. Barter has been used, but increasingly the exchange of labor, food, or craft items is conducted with money. Labor assistance, including help in clearing and planting fields, building houses and cassiri kanus, and processing cassiri, is paid for either in food or money. Manioc tubers, the prepared cassava cakes, turtles and other bush meat are

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*177 43 sold between clearings, and although not conducted through trade store channels, prices are those in use at the trade store. Rates of exchange for food and craft items not carried in the trade store tend to be much more variable. Also, food payments for labor services tend to vary. When money is used, the rate is usually identical with payments made for government employment. The extent of these local [621] transactions is not great. Yet they, along with the absence of general reciprocity, demonstrate the tendency for households in different clearings to be closed with regard to sharing resources. Obviously, there now exists differential access to money or local *177 463 resources on a situational basis. This contrasts to the lack of economic specialization among the population prior to the introduction of the gold mining companies and the more sustained difference among miners and nonminers during the existence of gold enterprises.

*177 476 464 During 1970-71, exchanges for short term labor involved both groups and individuals. The kaiyap or group work day is a recent innovation among the Upper Barama River Caribs. It has only occurred at the Air Strip and has been exclusively attended by Air Strip residents. During the year of field work, few men were sufficiently comfortable with the resources they commanded to exchange days of work with others. Consequently, the kaiyap has taken a special form. Four kaiyaps were held by three men, including the Captain. For each, a group of about twenty men worked during the morning to clear [293] a field. They were served cassiri in the field, and after work, they had a meal at the house of the man sponsoring the kaiyap. Then, the remainder of the cassiri was consumed in a convivial atmosphere

during the afternoon. The families of the working men would arrive and take part in this cassiri spree. No residue of obligations persisted from these group work days.

Also, the Captain used his income and agricultural resources to recruit men for projects he undertook as officeholder. At times, men were gathered to assist in cutting fields for Carib households newly moving to the Air Strip. The first self-help project in October 1970 involved building school desks and benches. A carpenter who had come to make repairs on the government residence houses stayed on to provide designs for the furniture and to supervise their construction. Every weekday morning for about three weeks, several men would turn out for this work. The second self-help project occurred in January 1971. The abandoned missionary lands were cleared of secondary bush for farms. During the mornings, over a period of nineteen days, the Captain and several other men cut down bush. At the beginning, one man who is a particularly good hunter was provided ammunition to hunt for the rest. Also, the Captain distributed other food from his farm and the trade store. In each case, specific work groups lacked permanence. The composition of groups changed every day of these projects. In all cases, the men received some immediate return for their participation.

Smaller groups of men have also been employed by other Caribs. Groups of men from the same residential clearing as well as individuals have been paid to do other tasks, including building houses and cassiri kanus, and clearing fields. Brothers, sons, fathers, fathers-in-law, and sons-in-law not sharing residence have been paid to do this work.

others. That is, this population is encapsulated relative to access to regional transportation and communication and control of market opportunities. Limited regional markets including employment have been conveyed into the Upper Barama River area by non-Carib middlemen. As a consequence, a limited number of Caribs have become clients to middlemen patrons and have brought their sons or sons-in-law into an employment opportunity. In this manner, extended household organization in which a son or son-in-law and his family remain with the parents is one pattern of organization that is evident among the Upper Barama River Caribs.

There is one further note to make on the social organization of the Upper Barama River Caribs. That is, the instrumentality of the one type of local communication event has changed relative to shifts in the boundaries of the resource-sharing social unit. The cassiri spree provides for the institutionalized interaction of individuals through songs, dances, and other encounters. As Gillin observed it (1936:60-70,137-139), a spree was held by one man but participation tended to include the residents of one settlement, although strangers were usually welcomed. A program of activities was continued for several days until the supply of cassiri was exhausted. During this time individuals engaged in a formalized manner related in different ways to the people they saw almost continually. In addition, the event itself expressed the solidarity of the people participating. Less than total participation of the residents in a settlement was indicative of the strained relationships which were a prelude to the relocation of households.

2: Adams E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1973 SR9 Carib SR9
(1932-1971) Barama River

241 energy characteristic of this environment. Slash-and-burn cultivation
182 is a replication of the rain forest, and in this manner, human groups
105 do not extend their niche through agriculture but rather integrate food production with the extant biotic community (Geertz 1963:15-28; Meggers 1971:19-21). The productivity of cultivation, hunting, fish-
361 ing, and gathering were the essential components of subsistence, and
105 [182] the Upper Barama River Caribs, limited in population size, shifted in location as a response to these endeavors. As a consequence of this semi-nomadic adaptation, the largest social unit was the settlement, within which the sharing of resources and the exchange of labor were patterned.

*177 In contrast, wage labor and other regional markets and modern
105 medical technology have combined to expand the niche of the Upper
161 [464] Barama River Carib population. In turn, population size has expanded.
[438] At the time of Gillin's (1936) study in 1932-33, the Upper Barama
[657] River Caribs numbered about 200 and were located in dispersed settlements along the river corridor. There are now more than 550 Caribs nucleated around Baramita Air Strip. This increase in size has been achieved despite losses due to migration. The current rate of increase is about eight percent annually. Coupled with a low death rate, this is indicative of the potential for further increases among this population. Using population size as the coefficient of adaptation as proposed by Alland (1967, 1970), clearly a successful adjustment has been made to the new resources available over the short term generation-to-generation time span.

*177 In this context, any projections for either the future of the
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